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GRÜNWALDS SONG, "GUT GESELL
UND DU MUST WANDERN"

A name in the history of German secular song which excited no little romantic enthusiasm in the editors of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and in Uhland himself was that of Grünwald. The former reprinted (from Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein*) in their dedication to Goethe the story and the song of the merry, improvident musician, Grünenwald, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Uhland republished Grünenwald's poem in his collection of *Volkslieder* (No. 238) and called attention to several song texts of the 16th century in which apparently a conscious effort had been made to mention 'der grüne Wald.' Such songs Uhland regarded likewise as productions of the same Grünwald and wrote the following words of appreciation: "Aus dem grünen Wald stammt die alte, naturtreue Volksdichtung, der letzte Sänger dieser Weise geht in den grünen Wald wieder auf," and added later, "Man kann sich im grünen Wald verirren, aber Jörg Grünewald ist ein Name, der seine Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen Liederwesens anzusprechen hat."¹

Long after Uhland, in the more accurate but prosier period of Volkslied investigation, three of the best scholars in this field, Arthur Kopp, Joh. Bolte and A. Götze, devoted careful attention to Grünwald, or rather to the Grünwalds, for others of the name became known and we are uncertain whether the extant Grünwald songs were by 'der gute schlemmer' of the *Rollwagenbüchlein*, by the Anabaptist shoemaker beheaded in 1530, by an instrumentalist mentioned in 1581, or possibly by some other Grünwald.

Kopp was the first to recognize that the first letters of the stanzas of several 16th century songs spell the name GRVN-WALD or at least show plain traces of such an acrostic. One text of nine stanzas, however, caused him considerable trouble. It was evidently by Grünwald but the defective acrostic GRVLBASSA proved a very corrupt text.² In the rare *Lieder-*

¹ *Schriften* 3, 456 and 549.

² *Archiv f.d.St. der neueren Sprachen* 107, 10 ff.

büchlein, Cölln, Bey Henrich Nettessem (Nettesheim), ca. 1580, which had been unknown or inaccessible to Kopp and other investigators, I find a version (A) of the song in question with the original acrostic still intact. This text is given here and beside it the common version (B) reprinted from the *Frankfort Liederbüchlein* of 1580.³ The latter differs only slightly from the texts used by Kopp (*Liederbüchlein* 1582A = “*Ambraser Liederbuch*”; etc.).

<p>A Kölner Liederbüchlein, ca. 1580, No. 204 [1]</p>	<p>B Frankfurter Liederbüchlein 1580, No. 250 [1]</p>
<p>GVt Gesell vnnd du must wandern, das Megdlein liebet ein anderen, welches ich geliebet hab, bey der bin ich schabab, kan dir nicht gnugsam klagen, mein elend, schmerz vnd pein, aber ich hoff es sol sich noch an jr rechnen fein.</p>	<p>GVt Gsell vnd du must wandern, das Mägdlein liebt ein anderen, die ich geliebet hab, Bey der ich bin schabab, Kan dirs nicht gnugsam klagen, Mein Schmerz, elend vnd pein, Jedoch ich hoff, es wirt sich noch, an jr selbst rechnen fein.</p>
<p>[2] Reuwet mich allein jr junges blut, welchs noch vor Lieb sehr nach jr thut, daß es sol von jr sein, Vnglück fellt gar herein, dennoch muß ich bekennen, vnnd solt ich sterben heindt, ist gewißlich war, recht gantz vnnd gar bin ich jr noch nit feind.</p>	<p>[2] Reuwet mich allein mein junges Blut, welches nach jhr verlangen thut, Daß ich von jhr solt seyn, vnglück kompt gar darein, so muß ichs doch bekennen, Vnd solt ich sterben heint, Ist gwißlich war, reds gantz vnd gar, So bin ich jhr doch nicht feind.</p>
<p>[3] Vnd daß ich immer bin bey jr, was hilfft dann solche Trew von mir, die ich noch zu jr trag, wie klärlich ist am tag, daß ich bin gar verdrungen, geschicht alls mir zu trutz, bin gar schabab, das Geschrey ich hab, ein ander hat den nutz.</p>	<p>[3] Vnnd daß ich nimmer bin bey jhr, was hilfft sie dann die Treuwe von mir, die ich státs zu jr trag, wie klärlich ist am tag, daß ich bin gar verdrungen, geschicht alls mir zu trutz, so hoff ich doch, ich werde noch, haben den besten nutz.</p>

³ This and the Cologne song book of Nettessem (both in the Vatican, Bibl. Palatina) were described in this journal, Vol. 8, pp. 489 ff.

[8]

Damit wil ich mich scheyden hin,
 ob ich gleich jetzund trauwrig bin,
 nach trübseliger zeit,
 kompt gern widerumb freuwd,
 wenn Gott der Herr lest scheinen
 sein liebe Sonne,
 in den grünen Wald,
 so kompt doch bald,
 widerumb freud darein.

[8]

So reuwt mich doch das Mägdelein,
 dieweil es ist so zart vnd fein,
 daß sie jhr junge tag,
 verzehren soll mit klag,
 mit einem alten Mann,
 da kein freud an ist,
 Nur sauwer sicht,
 vnd stätigs kriegt,
 das Jar nur einmal lacht.

[9]

Also muß ich mich scheiden hin,
 Wann ich gleich jetzund trawrig bin,
 nach trübseliger zeit,
 kompt gerne wider freud,
 Wenn Gott der Herr leßt scheinen,
 sein lieben Sonnen schein,
 in grünen Waldt,
 als dann kompt baldt,
 widerumb freud vnd wonne.⁴

Kopp recognized that there was one stanza too many in version B but was mistaken in insisting that stanza 7 was an interpolation;⁵ it had merely changed place with 4, while the eighth stanza of B was the later addition, as also the last three lines of stanza 3. Following a suggestion of Roethe, Kopp also pointed out that stanza 5 of the original must have begun with W (Wie bin ich . . .) and that the first three lines of this stanza (version B) belonged at the end of the third stanza (after trutz). He saw too that the stanza beginning Lass fahren . . . might have stood next to the last and suggested as the first word of the eighth and last stanza of the original 'Drumb' instead of 'Also' of B to give the D required by the acrostic

⁴ Immediately after text B in the *Frankfurter Liederbüchlein 1580* occur the following lines:

Nichts liebers auff dieser Welt,
 Als schöne Frauen vnd pars gelt.
 Eine fur eigen,
 Stäts on scheiden,
 Eine für all,
 Die mir mein Hertz erfreuwen soll.

⁵ *Archiv* 107, 13 (in note).

(our text A has 'Damit'). He would then have rescued almost the entire acrostic (GRV. WA. LD). Thus Kopp's painstaking attempt to restore version B stands out in sharp contrast to the superficial treatment of F. M. Böhme, who did not suspect Grünwald's authorship and who rejected five of the nine stanzas, assuming that they were "wahrscheinlich von einem Hofbediensteten (!)." ⁶

In spite of the complete acrostic, text A as given above is probably not in exactly the form Grünwald gave it. I should be the last to assert that he was incapable of composing verses as clumsy as some of these are. Many restorers of the "original" form of a poetical production of older days are altogether too ready to assume for that "original" faultless metrical form and rimes and the clearness and consistency of thought which one could expect from a modern author. Yet it would not be going too far to point out several readings for text A which might well have been in Grünwald's own version or versions. There will still remain passages in the poem which are awkward and obscure but which I do not feel justified in attempting to restore. An acrostic poem is not easy to compose and Grünwald's production is at least less grotesque than some contemporary ones, for example, a song, "Unmöglich ist es das man findt / ein Mensch als ich mir eine weiss / Herr bhüt wie ist mir dass ein Kindt / erst gadt mir auss der angstlich schweiss," etc., made light of by Fischart near the beginning of Ch. VI of the *Gargantua*. ⁷

The beginning of stanza 2 of A is obscure (version B seems better here, whether it represents Grünwald's own words or the idea of some later singer or editor); stanza 3, line 1 'nimmer' (=nicht mehr, cf. B) would seem to make better sense than 'jimmer'; st. 5, l. 4 does not seem plain; from B we get a hint that lines 7 and 8 of the first stanza might well have had rime instead of assonance—in fact Kopp ⁸ and Bolte ⁹ make the lines

⁶ *Liederhort*, No. 473.

⁷ With the acrostic "VRSVLA Blaurerin"; reprinted in *PBB Beiträge* 35, 431 ff., No. 52.

⁸ *Archiv* 107, 11.

⁹ *Voksliederbuch f. Männerchor* ("Kaiserliederbuch"), Leipzig, Peters, 1906, Vol. 1, No. 213.

rime: "ich hoff jedoch, es wird sich noch"; and finally, the reading of B in the last line of the song, "widerumb freud vnd wonne," would rime perfectly with "sonne" of A.

Since the *Kölner Liederbüchlein* was evidently based upon the Frankfort collection, the difference in these two texts is striking. The compiler of the former song book no doubt recognized that the poem should have an acrostic and inserted here a version he knew from some other source.

Version A, coming to light as it does after B had been carefully studied by the best authority on 16th century song texts (Kopp), has all the greater interest. The two versions give us another good example of a *Kunstlied* which has been altered in tradition.

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